565
554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[516] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
565 ing how to play the violin.
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
● 582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
[648] other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
871] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 [651] from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter [582] [641] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time refusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions. [184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These [582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or [192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifora.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifora from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 565 793 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

565 [511] [177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 631 [642] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the aménokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 565 721 [727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 [582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad.. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 and may be owners of slaves and herds. They sometimes seek
[582] matrimonial alliances with the Imrad, but the latter, who hold them in rather great contempt, most often refuse.

114 According to Nicolas, the Iborelliten might be captives of a
563 higher origin. (2) For de Foucauld, (3) Aborelli (plural, Ibourelliten)
[192]

2. Loc. cit., pp. 579-586.

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, vol. I, p. 79.

designates a mulatto of a white man and a Negress, or inversely. In our opinion, it should be added that one of the parents is of Taureg origin; and we are all the more convinced that this trait is
[192] indispensable since de Foucauld elsewhere refers to the ordinary mulatto by the name of Achardan (plural, Ichardanen). (3)

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, vol. I, p. 79.

We have gathered information in the regions of Tahoua and Gao, where éborelli refers to a child born of an Amajer and a non-captive Negress, or of a foreign woman. The Iborelliten are therefore mulattos born of mixed parentage, Tuareg and Negro.

563 As groups of Iborelliten we shall cite the Igdâlen of /169/ the Aïr and the Aboghelitè spoken of by Barth, (1) who were born of

1. Op. cit., vol. I, p. 204.

Tuareg mothers (Imochar, according to Barth) and Negro fathers. Another Iborelliten tribe, of Tuareg and Peul stock, said to have

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

[428] The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 595

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok.

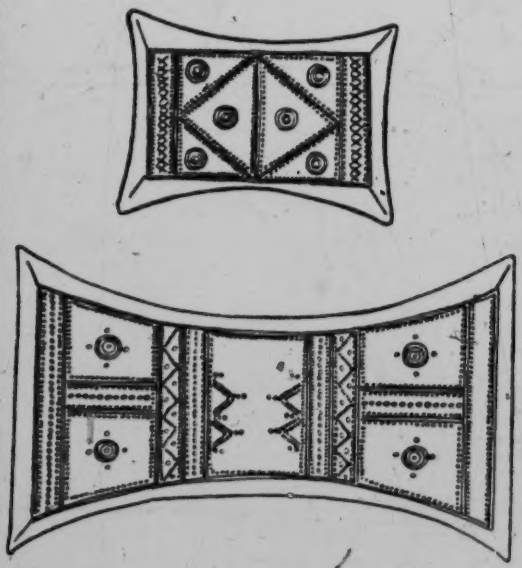

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power.

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan.

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal.

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 643 Meslah ag Amayas is a second cousin of Akhamouk. He is a grandson of the former amenokal Attarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Attici ag Amellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Amennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Heguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Amastan's sister Rakhma, who married Anaba ag Amellal, brother of Amenokal Attici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 [643] The amenokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dag Rali pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Ait Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Ait Loaïen.

[178] 161 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 644 [643] The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an amenokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them, abandoning the women of their own tribe. [582] This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 The amrar of the Taïtok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Taïtok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ahnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas,' op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 The Taïtok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the
565 vassals, proud of being called Taïtok, espouse all the rivalries of
[587] their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 Thieves to end all thieves, the Taïtok have still been able to
648 keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions
[161] they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Akabli who sometimes nomadized in the Adrar Ahnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrar, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Azioue1 and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Azioue1's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab [643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the [173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[649] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300
[233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner
631 by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradj, it was Ămastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dag Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Taitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [733] to Moussa ag Amastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [665] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dag Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Taitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Amastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dag Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dag Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ajjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Al- [797] though these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- 848] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are sometimes punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Air this is not the case; there the mother and the family of [587] the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

593 The very independent Tuareg woman has a very bad /294/ temper and in addition is often quite jealous. At the least misconduct by her husband, she goes home to her parents. She restores conjugal rights only after material compensation. For his part, the man is violent, and that often provokes disagreement in the household.

582 Obstacles to marriage. -- The cases of obstacles to marriage are identical with those fixed by Moslem law. It is forbidden to marry one's near relations, one's nurse or the child of one's nurse, or a woman having been fed with the same milk as oneself.

Alliances between Imochar and Imrad are very rare, for the Imochar who marries a woman from the vassal class makes his children lose the rights attached to his rank.

Noble and vassal women are willing to unite with Arabs, especially if they are marabouts, always on the condition that they respect monogamy, conform to Tuareg mores, and promise to live in the woman's camp. Tuareg men very seldom marry Arab women.

586 Divorce. -- Separation does not exist, so to speak, among the Tuareg, who make use of divorce, but do not abuse it. It is allowed by the Koran and is not subject to opprobrium. A Tuareg woman may ask for a divorce, while an Arab woman may not. The woman instigates it much more often than the man. The reasons set forth by the wife are usually bad treatment by her husband, insufficient support, embezzlement of animals, misconduct (which is a more rare motive), and sometimes nonpayment of the balance of the bride price.

The man more commonly sets forth misconduct, his wife's sterility, dispute over the bride price of animals, incompatibility, and often misunderstanding between the wife and her parents-in-law.

A few diseases such as leprosy may be grounds for divorce.

Divorces seldom take place without difficulties, and if a wife wants to leave her husband, any motive is good. The act of

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

●[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community 611 or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits 428 rank and privileges through the mother, regardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly con-
[835] cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual relations were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
[684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
463 family units or small groups widely separated from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some
[759] nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
[291] Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, *32*). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

Chapter V

The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been married must give her consent.

Chapter VII

Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴱⵏⵜ or "tedlout" ⵜⵜⴰⵍⵓⵜ has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests. If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description below.

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⴰⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed.

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵔⴷⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⴰⵜⴰⵔⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⴻⵔⵉⵔ ⵉⵏⴻⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵙⵙⵓⴼⵖ ⵉⵏⴻⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels," meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newlyweds live beside the wife's parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alaï" ⴰⵣⵄⵍⴰⵢ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴻⵣⵄⵍⵉ, to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule.

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg are satisfied with Negro concubines.

Chapter VIII

Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⴻⵍⵍⴻⴼ or "oulouï" ⵓⵍⵓⵢ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⴻⵍⵍⴻⴼ, to divorce),

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 48 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 230.

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg.

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g.,

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ranat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups.

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:–

Mother's brother's daughter	7
Father's sister's daughter	4
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Other kinswomen	13
No blood-relationship between husband and wife	8
Marriages total	38

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

582 [778] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it [581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally [605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 606 221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 614 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1] which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:- pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 225ff. from statistics of 1949)

	Noble Clans	Vassal Clans	Iseḳḳemaren Clans
The Kel Rela Drum-Group	*Kel Rela* 275 To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Iforas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Rela women, like noble women of the Oraren (Tassili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Air), do not associate freely with people of other classes.	*Dag Rali* 386 *Ait Loaïen* 400 *Agouh-en-Tehele* 585 *Relaiddin* 40 *Iklan-en-Taousit* 500 *Ibettenaten* 129 *Iregenaten* 435 These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibettenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Iregenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibettenaten, patrilineally from Arabs.	*Iheïaouen Heda* 253 *Kel Injer* 176 *Kel Tafedest* 61 *Kel Immidir* 179 *Kel Tafoulat* 158 The Iseḳḳemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals.
The Taitoḳ Drum-Group	*Taitoḳ* 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitoḳ stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitoḳ drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitoḳ and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	*Kel Ahnet* 127 *Ieuaroüaren* 47 *Tegehe-n-Efis* 127 *Ikoutisen* 84 *Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the Dag Rali clan of the Kel Rela drum-group). *Irechchoumen* – a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitoḳ, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	*Kel I-n-Tounin* (about 20 tents in 1938).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

591
768

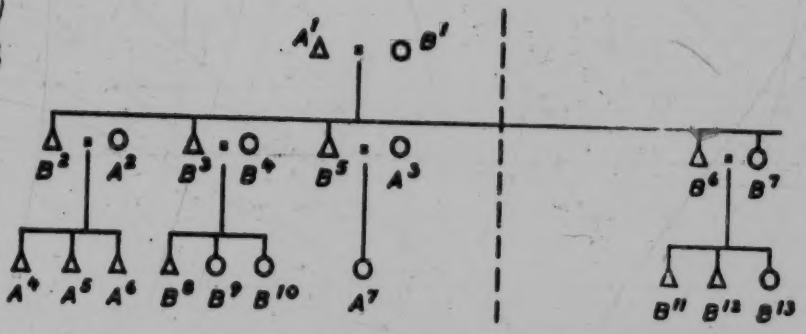

Fig. 10.–Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan (A^1) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan (B^1).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A–persons belong.

At the death of A^1 of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of B^1, and they will remain there also after the death of B^1.

At the death of B^2 his wife A^4 and her children A^4 A^6 will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with A^5 and her child A^7 at the death of B^4. At the death of B^3 his wife B^4 and children B^8–B^{10} will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B–persons belong.

If B^6 dies while A^1 is still alive, B^6 and her children B^{11} B^{13} will go back to the camp of A^1 in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of A^1 they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of B^2, B^3, and B^5.

[614] [682] If for instance B^6 kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as A^1 is alive and B^6 lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If A^1 has died and B^6 consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

Mother's brother's daughter	3
Father's sister's daughter	7
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Mother's sister's daughter	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter	9
Other kinswomen	8
Marriages total	44

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Aɣouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–90 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–400 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amɣar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore, blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored. The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr:— An Ayr Tuareg was on his way from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's *ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths. In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Harratin*, and in Ayr there are said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Inedan*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iburelliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

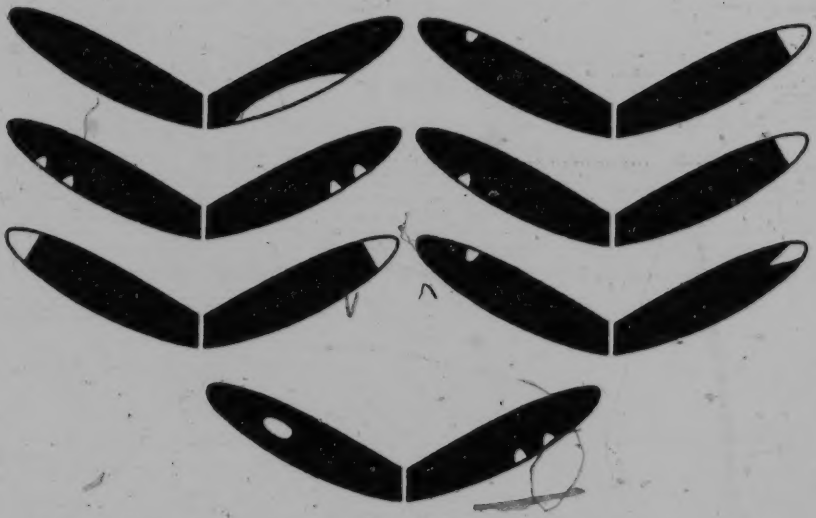

Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also holds for the *Isekkemoren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.

The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes, though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary

brand known as azeglu.

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Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Rela* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Aghak-en-tehit* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *semmert*. The brands ⅂ & ⅂ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikkes-en-newat* tribe where the principal brand is ⅂ called *amezlaf*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Rali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Rali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Rali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Rali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tikkilt n ayalaf*, that is "the raven's foot".

Dag Rali tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilinially related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Rali* proper speak of the *Imessiliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Rali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

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Many Tuareg claim that their tribe is an endogamous unit, but to-day there is no tribe that is exclusively endogamous. All tribes intermarry more or less with people of other tribes. The most endogamous tribe is perhaps the *Dag Rali* of which the half known as the *Dag Rali* proper has contracted a few marriages with people of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe) while the other tribal half known as the *Imessiliten* has intermarried with the *Ikechchemaden* tribe.

The rules of residence are based upon both patrilineal and matrilineal principles as follows:—

(1) When the wedding ceremony is over the newly-married couple will stay one year in the camp of the wife's parents. This one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family has nothing to do with bridal service. Very frequently the husband does not live continuously with his wife throughout this period, but lives in his parents' camp and pays occasional visits to his wife. Some Tuareg say that the main reason for this one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family is due to the fact that about one year is needed to prepare tent, household implements, and the like for the newly-married couple (cf. p. 460 f., 472). The stay in the wife's family camp is not always strictly one year, but may be longer or shorter. But if the wife is pregnant she must leave her parents' camp to bear her child in the camp of the husband's family.

(2) After the one year's stay the couple will settle with the husband's father to remain with him as long as he is alive.

Fig. 102a–b. Hafted irons (*énéri*, pl. *énéréin*) to burn property marks into the skin of camels and donkeys.

a. Camel iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.466 m. (N.M.G. 5251).

b Donkey iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.202 m. (N.M.G. 5250).

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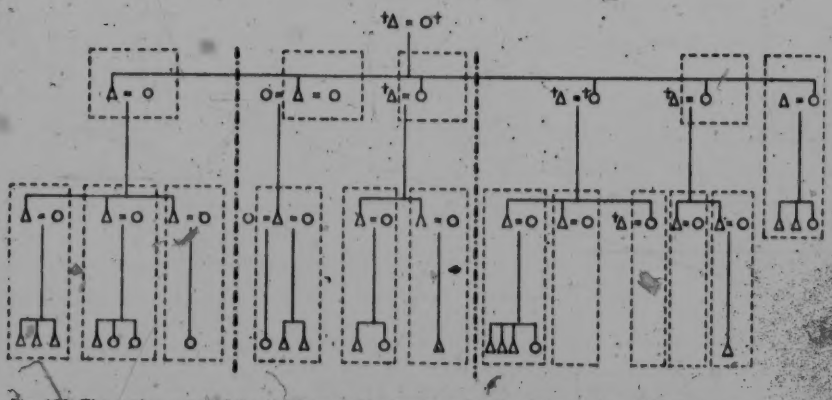

Fig. 103. The section camp of the *Kel Ajerwa* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehil*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections of foreign tribes.

When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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*342 174 covered exclusively with straw mats. Tuareg skin tents may perhaps have originated from tents covered with grass-mats which had the dome-shaped top covered with a sheet of skin during the rains. At all events I assume that most Tuareg skin tents have developed from a type of barrel-vaulted dwelling, and it is most significant that rudiments of arch constructions occur in skin tents within all Tuareg groups.

The development of Tuareg tents is difficult to explain by mere reference to environment, and we should also try to take into consideration historical factors. I believe that tents with upright forked poles which carry horizontal cross-bars developed from a barrel-vaulted structure. I believe that this is indicated by the material presented above. Thus most or all barrel-vaulted dwellings among the Tuareg have at their narrow ends a pair of forked poles with a horizontal cross-bar placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction and parallel to the arch or the arches which are placed in the middle of the tent. We have also noted that we have tents of one central arch and two outer pairs of sticks with cross-bars covered with two semi-arches, and tents in which this middle arch is substituted by a pair of sticks carrying a cross-bar. It seems quite natural to consider all tents supported exclusively by pairs of sticks carrying horizontal cross-bars as deriving from barrel-vaulted dwellings. One would perhaps then be tempted to suppose that such an evolution took place in the true desert country, where it might seem easier to make tents from a certain number of sticks tied together than from curved arches. However, as far as our knowledge goes, an evolution of portable dwellings among the Tuareg from arched types to types exclusively consisting of cross-bars resting in forked sticks seems to have taken place outside of the proper desert country. All old Tuareg of Ahaggar admit that the common type of tent structure in their childhood was that of two arches, while these arches, they say, have now been replaced by cross-bars resting in pronged poles. This agrees with the fact that Foucauld, [114] who lived in Ahaggar from 1905 to 1916, does not mention tents of the cross-bar type which are now almost exclusively used by the Ahaggar Tuareg. According to Foucauld, Ahaggar tents fall into two main types, namely those supported by arches and those supported by T-shaped posts. When the structure made exclusively with forked poles and cross-bars was adopted we do not know, but I believe [114] that it may perhaps have taken place in the twenties. In any event there seems to be little doubt that they were common at the end of the twenties, for they are depicted by Moberg from his journey to *342 178 Ahaggar 1929–30 (cf. Moberg 1933, p. 59, 63, 65). The question now arises why the Ahaggar Tuareg gave up their arched dwellings, which are so extremely rare nowadays, and adopted the upright forked poles-crossbar structure? Lhote thinks that in Ahaggar there were perhaps the following reasons:— (1) The arched structure is better adapted to rain, but has become less useful owing to the increasing dryness of Ahaggar; (2) It is more difficult to procure the long roots of tamarisks for arches; (3) The arches used in ancient times were difficult to carry from camp to camp; (4) The structure consisting of cross-bars resting in forked poles may perhaps have been introduced owing to contact with the *Iullemmeden*, who use a similar type of tent-structure (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 42 f.; 1955a, p. 256). Of these arguments I find the last the most convincing, the more so as I have myself been informed that the tents of cross-bars resting on forked prongs have been introduced owing to contact with the Southern [582] Tuareg who have similar tents. One might perhaps assume that the tent was actually introduced owing to contact with the *Kel Adrar*, as the Ahaggar Tuareg have married women of that Tuareg group

[Text continues on p. 388]

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*342 178 582 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwillemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Dennek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Ajjer* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

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162
565
582
614
634
642

THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

	Noble tribes		Vassal tribes		*Isekkemaren* tribes	
The *Kel Rela* Drum-Group	*Kel Rela*	275	*Dag Rali*	386	*Iheyawen Hada*	253
			Ayt Lowayen	400	*Kel Inrer*	176
			Aguh-en-tehlé	585	*Kel Téfedest*	61
			Relayddin	40	*Kel Immidir*	179
			Iklan-en-tawsit	500	*Kel Tazulet*	158
			Ibettenaten	129		
			Iregenaten	435		

To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Rela* women, like noble women of the *Uraren* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes.

These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Iregenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs.

The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals.

643 634 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytok* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytok* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytok* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 651 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-n-amadal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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	Noble tribes		Vassal tribes		*Iseḳkemaren* tribes	
The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group	*Taytoḳ*	33	*Kel Ahnet*	127	*Kel I-n-tunin*	
	There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.		*Iwerweren*	47	(about 20 tents in 1938).	
			Tégehé-n-Efis	127		
			Ikuffisen	84		
			Ikechchemaden (now mixed with the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group).			
			Iyechchumen A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.			
The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group	*Tégehé Mellet*	33	*Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group).		*Kel Terurit*	62
					Kel Uhet	70
Noble Tribes Without Vassals	*Kel-ahem-mellen*		The *Iseḳkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe			
	Ikadeyen		Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.			

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Iwaggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *ahubaz* (pl. *ihubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only

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been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzuŕg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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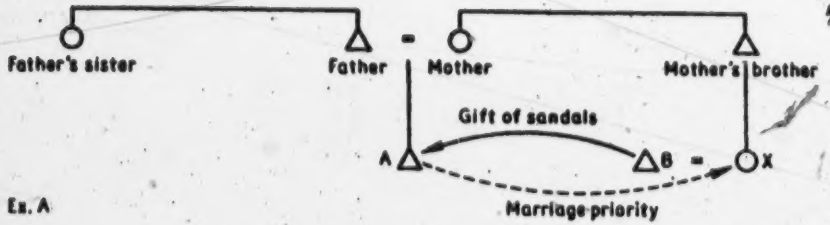

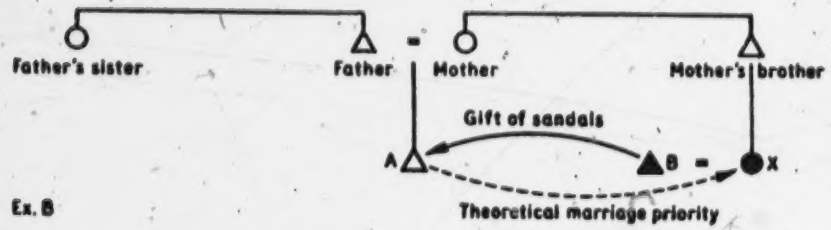

Fig. 292. Diagram illustrating how Tuareg slavery in Ahaggar is based upon kinship structure.

Ex. A. The Tuareg A has a sort of first-priority to marriage with his mother's brother's daughter X, who, however, marries B, who has no especial right to marry X. During the marriage ceremony B or one of his brothers must thus give a pair of sandals to A.

Ex. B. The slave-girl X belongs to A's mother's brother and is the latter's fictive daughter; she is therefore regarded as A's mother's brother's daughter, and A accordingly has first-priority to marriage with X. As a slave-girl, however, X will marry the slave B, but A will receive the gift of sandals, just as though X were his actual mother's brother's daughter.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

582 431 Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will 583 not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once 564 567 killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punishment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways: He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing conflicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while a woman will do her outmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

582 and the argument that cross-cousin marriage tends to prevent marital conflict is apparently a valid one. I return to his later, and now pass to the last argument that cross-cousin marriage possesses economic functions. To examine this point let us first consider the obligations of two families who intermarry.

ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AHAGGAR

602 (a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583 (1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) which varies according to the social class of the bride. For a noble woman and a woman of the *Ireǧenaten* tribe it is seven camels, while in most vassal tribes including the *Isekkemaren* bride-wealth comprises only one young camel (*alegges*). In the *Dag Rali* tribe however two young camels constitute the traditional bride-price, while three camels are given at the marriage of a woman of the *Ibettenaten* tribe. In vassal tribes 25–30 goats can be given instead of one young camel. Bride-wealth is handed over to the bride's father, or, if the father is dead, normally to her elder brother. Bride-wealth animals belong to her father (or elder brother), but it is said that the offspring of bride-wealth animals should be given to the bride or to her children. On a man's first marriage bride-wealth animals are usually given by his father, but if he is divorced and wishes to remarry he will himself furnish the bride-wealth.

585 (2) a camel or a number of goats to be killed for wedding-food (*tardest*). In addition to what is given by the husband or his father, animals to be killed at a wedding may also be brought by visiting relatives.

(3) In noble tribes and among the *Ireǧenaten* the tent with its straw-mats are given by the husband and/or his relatives.

(4) Some time after marriage it is customary for the husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means – a few goats, one or two camels. This gift however remains in the husband's camp so that the animals serve the need of his household.

(5) It does not seem customary in Ahaggar for the groom to give his bride clothes and ornaments, though it is said that in the *Dag Rali* tribe the groom has to give his bride two silver bracelets known as *ihebǧan* (sing. *ahbeǧ*).

602 (b) *Obligations of the bride's family.*

583 To illustrate the obligations of the bride's family I list what is considered the proper outfit of the bride in the *Dag Rali* tribe as follows:—

1 skin tent (*ẖakit*) with the necessary number of poles (cf. p. 364, Figs. 267 ff.).
2 tent mats (*isebran*, sing. *eseber*) plaited from the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) (cf. Figs. 267–269).
3 large decorated skin-bags (*iṛerǧan*, sing. *arreǧ*) used for storing personal belongings in the tent.
1 *ahaga*, a large container made of untanned camel-hide and used mainly for tanning (Fig. 213).

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582 with cross-cousins. There are very few relatives with whom marriage is strictly forbidden. A man must not marry a kinswoman of ascending generations, and he should not marry a woman who is his mother-in-law (daughter-in-law) from a previous marriage. With the exception of his own true sisters he is allowed to marry any kinswoman of his own generation, and in the first descending generation he can marry all women except his own daughters and daughters of his brothers and sisters.

582 591 581 In Ahaggar where the Tuareg practise a fixed system of patrilocal and matrilocal rules of residence, cross-cousin marriages will imply shifts of residence which can be avoided by other types of marriage. Many Ahaggar Tuareg prefer to arrange for their sons marriages with a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister) or with her daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). When the Tuareg thus marry directly into their own matrilineage there will be no shift of residence from one camp (tribe) to another, and children will have rights of inheritance and succession to kinsmen of the same local group. Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is in fact better suited to rules of inheritance, succession, and residence than is marriage with a cross-cousin. I have met many Ahaggar Tuareg who claimed marriage with a mother's sister's daughter to be preferable to cross-cousin marriage, though they admitted that the latter was traditionally the preferred type.

582 My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems to indicate that in Ahaggar marriages with a mother's sister's daughter and with her daughter are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins. This may be seen from the composition of 44 marriages contracted with kinswomen:—

Mother's brother's daughter	3
Father's sister's daughter	7
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Mother's sister's daughter	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter	9
Other kinswomen	8
Marriages total	44

The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is also practised among them, but that such marriages are not particularly common. This agrees with my statistical material which is very scarce also from the Ayr Tuareg:—

Mother's brother's daughter	7
Father's sister's daughter	4
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Other kinswomen	14
No blood-relationship	8
Marriages total	39

[178] 582 591 These statistics are less valuable than those from Ahaggar, for they are collected mainly from tribes living around Agadez where social customs tend to fall into disuse. However, cross-cousin marriages are still very common in these tribes where there is a tendency to follow patrilocal rules of residence and patrilineal succession. The reason why the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg do not consider marriages with

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women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *térejjek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.

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582 In case of cross-cousins of different sex, the difference in age does not seem to diminish joking
604 between them, and it is most interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have an institutional joking
606 relationship in the case of a mother's brother's wife (cf. p. 455). This joking relationship, like that between cross-cousins and in-laws of the same generation, is definitely also a relationship of great friendship, and it has a very particular function in connection with cross-cousin marriage. For if a man marries the cross-cousin who is considered the best possible spouse, namely his mother's brother's daughter, it is evident that mother's brother's wife with whom he has a relationship of intense joking will become his mother-in-law. In other words:— When a man marries according to traditional rules he will acquire a reciprocal avoidance relationship to a woman with whom he had intense joking until marriage. So it seems as if joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife serves the purpose of preventing conflicts and creating a bond of friendship between a man and his future mother-in-law.

606 It can be added that the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is normally one of great friendship, though they very often avoid each other to the extent that they never speak together. A son-in-law and a mother-in-law will frequently exchange gifts during visits to each others' camps, but will generally avoid each other in the way that a man visiting his mother-in-law's camp will stay at a distance of up to a hundred metres from her tent. The relationship of avoidance is somewhat different in case son-in-law and mother-in-law live together in the same camp, though they will always avoid each other to the extent that they talk extremely little to one another and never eat in each other's presence.

602 Joking and avoidance between Tuareg in-laws no doubt constitute a fixed system of behaviour
582 adapted to a particular marriage type, namely that with a cross-cousin — ideally with a mother's brother's daughter. If a man marries a woman with whom he has no blood relationship he will practise joking with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and avoidance towards his parents-in-law. His behaviour towards all these in-laws will not differ from that he would adopt towards his in-laws if he were married to a cross-cousin. But if a man marries a kinswoman who is not his cross-cousin he will not always obtain relationships of joking and avoidance towards all in-laws. To illustrate this I mention the following examples from the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group:—

(1) If a man marries the daughter of a true cross-cousin he will not achieve any joking relations with his brothers and sisters-in-law. He will not avoid a cross-cousin who is his parent-in-law, but he will cease to joke with him or her. The same rule is probably valid for the cross-cousin's spouse, who will be a classificatory brother-in-law or a sister-in-law.

(2) If a man marries a daughter of a classificatory cross-cousin he may joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, but there will be no avoidance relationships in regard to the parents-in-law.

(3) If a man marries the daughter of a classificatory child or a classificatory sister's child there will be joking with his brothers and sisters-in-law. I assume that in this case there will also be avoidance between a man and his parents-in-law.

(4) If a man marries a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter there will be no joking with his true brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but there will be some avoidance towards the parents-in-law.

Joking, and to some extent also avoidance, are modes of behaviour which are particularly adapted
000 to cross-cousin marriage, or to marriages with foreign women. The same is perhaps the case with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Middle East MI

M
582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
[114] functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T
582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T
[171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a
T
606 marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937, p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T
582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T
585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
[193] before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

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initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal; though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an